

Atti delle “Settimane di Studi” e altri Convegni

46

VICE-PRESIDENTE DELLA FONDAZIONE: Irene Sanesi
Segretario generale: Giampiero Nigro

Comitato scientifico

Presidente:
Paola Massa

Vicepresidenti:
Erik Aerts, Michele Cassandro

Direttore scientifico:
Giampiero Nigro

Giunta esecutiva:
Erik Aerts, Carlo Marco Belfanti, Wim Blockmans, Michele Cassandro, Murat Çizakça, Laurence Fontaine, Paulino Iradiel Murugarren, Paolo Malanima, Adam Manikowski, Paola Massa, Giovanni Muto, Giampiero Nigro, Michael North

Altri membri del Comitato scientifico:
Mathieu Arnoux, Marco Cattini, Maria Raffaella De Gramatica, Markus A. Denzel, Giulio Fenicia, Gerhard Fouquet, Luciana Frangioni, Alberto Guenzi, Sergej Pavlovič Karpov, Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Maryanne Kowaleski, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Luca Molà, Pellegrino Gerardo Nicolosi, Sheilagh Ogilvie, W. Mark Ormrod, Luciano Palermo, Paola Pierucci, Simone Teuscher, Diana Toccafondi, Michael Toch, Bas van Bavel

Comitato d'Onore

Maurice Aymard, Michel Balard, Giorgio Borelli, Giovanni Cherubini, Philippe Contamine, Mario Del Treppo, Antonio Di Vittorio, Arnold Esch, Jean Favier, Richard Goldtwhaite, Alberto Grohmann, Elio Lodolini, Rosalia Manno Tolu, Peter Mathias, Anthony Molho, Giuseppe Pansini, Hans Pohl, Christopher Smout, Henryk Samsonowicz, Jean-Pierre Sosson, Rolf Sprandel, Hermann van der Wee, Valentín Vázquez de Prada, Immanuel Wallerstein, Giovanni Zalin

FONDAZIONE
ISTITUTO INTERNAZIONALE DI STORIA ECONOMICA “F. DATINI”
PRATO

IL COMMERCIO AL MINUTO

Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale.

Secc. XIII-XVIII

RETAIL TRADE

Supply and demand in the formal and informal economy

from the 13th to the 18th century

Selezione di ricerche

Firenze University Press
2015

Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale. Secc. XIII-XVIII = Retail Trade. Supply and demand in the formal and informal economy from the 13th to the 18th century : selezione di ricerche. – Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2015.

(Atti delle “Settimane di Studi” e altri Convegni ; 46)

<http://digital.casalini.it/9788866557517>

ISBN 978-88-6655-750-0 (print)

ISBN 978-88-6655-751-7 (online)

La Settimana di Studi è stata realizzata con il contributo di:
Ministero per i Beni, le Attività Culturali e il Turismo

Certificazione scientifica delle Opere

Tutti i volumi pubblicati sono soggetti ad un processo di referaggio esterno di cui sono responsabili il Consiglio editoriale della FUP e i Consigli scientifici delle singole collane. Le opere pubblicate nel catalogo della FUP sono valutate e approvate dal Consiglio editoriale della casa editrice. Per una descrizione più analitica del processo di referaggio si rimanda ai documenti ufficiali pubblicati sul catalogo on-line della casa editrice (www.fupress.com).

Consiglio editoriale Firenze University Press

G. Nigro (Coordinatore), M.T. Bartoli, M. Boddi, R. Casalbuoni, C. Ciappei, R. Del Punta, A. Dolfi, V. Fargion, S. Ferrone, M. Garzaniti, P. Guarnieri, A. Mariani, M. Marini, A. Novelli, M. Verga, A. Zorzi.

La Fondazione Datini si dichiara fin d'ora disponibile ad assolvere i suoi obblighi per l'utilizzo delle immagini contenute nel volume nei confronti di eventuali aventi diritto.

© 2015 Firenze University Press

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Firenze University Press

Borgo Albizi, 28

50122 Firenze, Italy

<http://www.fupress.com/>

Printed in Italy

CRITERI DI CERTIFICAZIONE SCIENTIFICA

I testi pubblicati in questa collana raccolgono i risultati di ricerche originali attivate dalla Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", sulla base di un progetto varato dai suoi organi scientifici. Gli autori vengono selezionati a seguito di una Call for papers che indica gli obiettivi scientifici del progetto; la selezione è effettuata sulla base di proposte circostanziate contenenti indicazioni sulle questioni storiografiche che si intende affrontare, l'area e il periodo storico preso in considerazione e la tipologia delle fonti da utilizzare. La Giunta del Comitato scientifico, eventualmente integrata da specialisti, analizza le proposte e seleziona quelle ritenute più valide e coerenti con il progetto generale di ricerca. La commissione può anche decidere, ove lo ritenga opportuno, di effettuare inviti diretti a studiosi che si siano distinti per la qualità della loro produzione scientifica sul tema.

I testi risultanti dalle ricerche vengono presentati e discussi in occasione della Settimana di Studi. Nel mese precedente al suo svolgimento, essi vengono messi a disposizione dei partecipanti, per consentire il necessario approfondimento della discussione. A seguito delle osservazioni e del dibattito svolto durante il convegno, gli autori inviano i loro testi definitivi. Tutti i testi vengono sottoposti a duplice peer review anonimo. Questo volume raccoglie solo quelli che hanno registrato un giudizio positivo.

The works published in this series represent the collected original research works initiated by the "F. Datini" International Institute of Economic History (Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini"), based on a project launched by its scientific bodies. The authors are chosen following a Call for Papers indicating the scientific objectives of the project; the selection is performed on the basis of detailed proposals containing indications regarding the researched economic history topics, the area and historical period considered, as well as the sources used. The Scientific Committee analyzes the proposals, choosing those considered the most valid and coherent with the general research project. The Committee may decide, if it deems adequate, to invite individual scholars who have distinguished themselves for the quality of their scientific work on the topic. The works resulting from research are presented and discussed during the Study Week. During the month preceding the Study Week, the works are made available to the participants to ensure a more detailed discussion. Following the comments and the debate held during the conference, the authors send their final texts, which are submitted to two anonymous peer reviewers. This book only contains the essays recording a positive judgment.

INDICE

CARLO MARCO BELFANTI, Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale. Secc. XIII-XVIII	pag.	1
COMMERCIO FORMALE E INFORMALE TRA REGOLE E PRATICA		
FORMAL AND INFORMAL RETAIL TRADE BETWEEN RULES AND PRACTICE		
JAMES DAVIS, PETER STABEL, Formal and Informal Trade in Late Middle Ages. The Islamic World and Northwest Europe Compared	pag.	15
LUCA CLERICI, L’approvisionnement du marché urbain: conflits et négociations (Vicence, XVI ^e siècle)..... »		39
JEAN-MARIE YANTE, Organisation corporative et « tours » des merciers (XIII ^e -XVI ^e siècles). France, Lorraine, Pays-Bas	»	69
BRECHT DEWILDE, Expanding the Retail Revolution: Multiple Guild Membership in the Southern Low Countries, 1600-1800	»	91
ANNE MONTENACH, Genre, prohibition et commerce de détail: les femmes et la circulation des indiennes en Lyonnais et Dauphiné (1686-1759)..... »		113
JUDICAËL PETROWISTE, Définir et sanctionner le commerce informel dans une petite ville de la fin du Moyen Âge: Saint-Jean d’Angély aux XIV ^e -XV ^e siècles..... »		131
BEATRICE ZUCCA MICHELETTO, Tra autonomia lavorativa e strategie familiari: le donne nel commercio al dettaglio a Torino in epoca moderna	»	153
BART LAMBERT, Offences in the Outport: Illicit Trade in Fifteenth-Century Sluys and Southampton..... »		167
JULIEN VILLAIN, La boutique et les différentiels intra-régionaux de l’offre: le cas de la Lorraine à la fin du XVIII ^e siècle..... »		185
IL COMMERCIO AL MINUTO IN AMBIENTE URBANO		
THE RETAIL TRADE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT		
BRUNO BLONDÉ, ILJA VAN DAMME, Beyond the “Retail Revolution”. Trends and Patterns in 17 th - and 18 th -Century Antwerp Retailing	pag.	219
FRANCESCA PUCCI DONATI, ROSSELLA RINALDI, Il commercio al dettaglio a Bologna tra Due e Trecento. La piazza, l’osteria, la bottega	»	241
PAOLA PINELLI, Mercanti tutt’altro: il mondo delle piccole botteghe a Prato fra XIV e XV secolo	»	259
GRZEGORZ MYŚLIWSKI, Retail Trade in Wrocław between around the Mid-Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Century..... »		277
JUAN VICENTE GARCÍA MARSILLA, GERMÁN NAVARRO ESPINACH, CARLES VELA AULESA, Pledges and Auctions: the Second-Hand Market in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon..... »		295

ALESSIA MENEGHIN, The Trade of Second-Hand Clothing in Fifteenth-Century Florence. Organisation, Conflicts and Trends	pag.	319
MAUD VILLERET, La vente des produits coloniaux: le rôle des détaillants dans la diffusion de l'exotisme dans la France de l'Ouest au XVIII ^e siècle	»	337
ALIDA CLEMENTE, Gli spazi delle botteghe nella Napoli del Settecento: dinamiche di localizzazione, strategie commerciali e conflitti istituzionali nel secolo della "rivoluzione dei consumi"	»	353
DANIEL MUÑOZ NAVARRO, Sistemas de comercialización y oferta textil en la Valencia preindustrial (1675-1805). La consolidación del comercio estable y el surgimiento de nuevos espacios de consumo, más allá de la ciudad	»	385
IL COMMERCIO ITINERANTE: MERCI E UOMINI		
THE ITINERANT TRADE: GOODS AND MEN		
CHRISTOF JEGGLE, Provisioning the Countryside. The Retail Sale of Textiles of the Perrollaz-Cartier in Laufenburg / Rhine around 1800	pag.	415
DANIELLE VAN DEN HEUVEL, Depictions and Perceptions of Street Vending in the Northern Netherlands, 1600-1800	»	433
AUGUSTO CIUFFETTI, Venditori ambulanti nell'Appennino pontificio tra XVIII e XIX secolo	»	445
ELEONORA CANEPARI, Le commerce de détail dans les parcours de mobilité professionnelle (Rome, XVII ^e -XVIII ^e siècle)	»	465
DAVID CELETTI, Le commerce au détail des fils de lin et de chanvre. Acteurs, espaces et réseaux dans la Vénétie et la Bretagne d'Ancien Régime	»	481
Abstracts	»	503

Brecht Dewilde

Expanding the Retail Revolution.

*Multiple Guild Membership in the Southern Low Countries, 1600-1800**

In the last two decades or so, the ‘retail revolution’ has increasingly been considered as a key element of early modern economic growth.¹ This transformation of the distribution side of the supply chain comprised an increased relative and sometimes absolute importance of fixed shop retailing, the emergence of specialist shopping area’s, and the development of new marketing techniques. Whereas most studies connect retail expansion to economic modernization, Blondé and Van Damme rightly argue that similar developments occurred in the Southern Low Countries, independent of economic growth or urbanization. Fuelled by dramatic changes in consumer taste and patterns, guild-organized retailers – the mercers in particular – gained significant economic weight as middlemen between supply and demand.² Mercers exemplified the ‘modern’ type of retailers, operating from shops and selling new imported commodities and wares delivered by craftsmen from the so-called producing guilds.³ In this article, I want to broaden our understanding of the retail revolution by turning attention to this last group of producing craftsmen,

* University of Leuven, Early Modern History Research Unit, Blijde Inkomststraat 21 box 3307, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium). This article has been written as part of the IUAP-project P7/26: ‘City and society in the Low Countries, c. 1200-c. 1850’ (Belgian Federal Science Policy Office). A preliminary version of this paper has been presented at The Economic History Society Annual Conference in York, 5-7 April 2013. I would like to thank Erik Aerts, Johan Verberckmoes, Johan Poukens, Lyvia Diser, and the members of the Centre for Historical Research into Urban Transformation Processes at the University of Brussels – Anne Winter and Hugo Soly in particular – for their comments and contributions. Thanks are also due to Julie Beckers for revising my text.

¹ H.-CH. MUI, L.H. MUI, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-century England*, Montreal 1989; I. MITCHELL, *The Development of Urban Retailing 1700-1815*, in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, ed. P. CLARK, Londen 1989, pp. 259-283; Ch. FOWLER, *Changes in Provincial Retail Practice during the Eighteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Central-southern England*, in “Business History”, 40, 1998, pp. 37-54; N. COX, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820*, Aldershot 2000; J. STOBART, A. HANN, *Retailing Revolution in the Eighteenth Century? Evidence from North-west England*, in “Business History”, 46, 2004, pp. 171-194; *Retailers and Consumer Changes in Early Modern Europe: England, France, Italy and the Low Countries*, B. BLONDÉ, E. BRIOT, N. COQUERY, L. VAN AERT eds., Tours 2005; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinbandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648-ca. 1748)*, Amsterdam 2007; J. STOBART, *A History of Shopping: The Missing Link Between Retail and Consumer Revolutions*, in “Journal of Historical Research in Marketing”, 2, 2010, pp. 342-349; D. VAN DEN HEUVEL, S. OGILVIE, *Retail Development in the Consumer Revolution: The Netherlands, c. 1670-c. 1815*, in “Explorations in Economic History”, 50, 2013, pp. 69-87.

² B. BLONDÉ, I. VAN DAMME, *Retail Growth and Consumer Changes in a Declining Urban Economy: Antwerp (1650-1750)*, in “Economic History Review”, 63, 2010, pp. 638-663.

³ I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen*, cit., pp. 233-239.

which is largely neglected in the historiography on retailing. The main argument is that the retail revolution was not limited to retailers (merciers) *pur sang*, but expanded more widely, affecting also the ‘traditional’ circuits of craftsmen selling the products of their own labour.

SETTING THE STAGE: RETAILING AND MULTIPLE GUILD MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOUTHERN LOW COUNTRIES

During the eighteenth century, fixed shop retailing grew prominently in most cities of Southern Low Countries. Both in the large and smaller centers a significant proportion of the active population engaged in retailing. Retail ratios – or the number of retailers (merciers) per 1,000 inhabitants – even suggest (with the exception of Antwerp) an inverse relationship between settlement size and retail growth (table 1).⁴ Smaller towns, which were dependent on the larger centers for the supply of specialized goods and services, counted more merciers per 1,000 inhabitants than cities consisting of a well-developed local industry and service sector. Ghent, for instance, a city with high industrial employment rates,⁵ had a larger absolute number of merciers than the small towns of Lier or Turnhout, but relative to population size, the concentration of retailers was higher in those small settlements. This inverse relationship disagrees with Blondé’s view that provincial towns were much less commercialized compared to Antwerp and Brussels. Indeed, when analyzing a series of population censuses of 1755, Blondé found that the number of households engaged in commercial activities was considerably lower in provincial towns.⁶ According to the census of 1755, Lier counted a mere 56 shops, consisting of 14 “boutiques”, 12 (general) stores, 1 mercier, and 29 specialist shops. Another population survey of Lier, taken in 1747, lists 88 persons performing retailing activities.⁷ Those figures do not even come close to the number of retailers estimated in table 1. Thus, where population censuses picture a rather under-developed retail sector, evidence from records of the merciers’ guild suggests that the opposite is true.

⁴ To fully understand the relationship between retail density and urbanization, however, a more comprehensive, multivariate approach is needed. See: D. VAN DEN HEUVEL, S. OGILVIE, *Retail Development in the Consumer Revolution*, cit.

⁵ W. PREVENIER, J.-P. SOSSON, M. BOONE, *Le réseau urbain en Flandre (XIII^e-XIX^e siècle): composantes et dynamique*, in *Het stedelijk netwerk in België in historisch perspectief (1350-1850): een statistische en dynamische benadering*, Brussels 1992, pp. 157-200, 166-168.

⁶ B. BLONDÉ, *Een economie met verschillende snelheden. Ongelijkheden in de opbouw en de ontwikkeling van het Brabantse stedelijke netwerk (ca. 1750-ca. 1790)*, Brussels 1999, pp. 76-79; B. BLONDÉ, R. VAN UYTVEN, *De smalle steden en het Brabantse stedelijke netwerk in de Late Middeleeuwen en de Nieuwe Tijd*, in “Lira Elegans”, 6, 1996, pp. 129-182, 173-178.

⁷ This information has been kindly provided by Dr. Nele Provoost.

Tab. 1. Retail ratio's in the Southern Low Countries, c. 1700-1790⁸

	Antwerp	Brussels	Ghent	Mechlin	Leuven	Namur	Lier	Turnhout
c. 1700-10								
Population size	70,000	--	--	21,947	15,330	--	--	--
Mercers	2,294	--	--	215	329	--	--	--
Retail ratio	33	--	--	10	21	--	--	--
c. 1725-35								
Population size	--	--	38,298	19,284	14,648-14,825	13,000	--	--
Mercers	--	--	412	320	485-492	700	--	--
Retail ratio	--	--	11	17	33	54	--	--
c. 1755-65								
Population size	44,400-48,600	60,000	38,887	20,968	14,362	--	5,989	5,138
Mercers	1,975	522	500	312	465	--	297-328	323
Retail ratio	41-44	9	13	15	32	--	50-55	63
c. 1780-90								
Population size	49,061	--	--	--	18,938	--	6,980-7,000	--
Mercers	2,321	--	--	--	575	--	369	--
Retail ratio	47	--	--	--	30	--	53	--

⁸ J.B. GOETSTOUWERS, *Les métiers de Namur sous l'Ancien Régime: contribution à l'histoire sociale*, Leuven 1908, p. 186; G. DE SMET, *Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van het Mechelse ambachtelijke milieu. Het ambacht van de kramers (1712-1749)*, Unpublished master thesis University of Leuven 1982, pp. 322; L. LIPPEVELD, *Bijdragen tot de sociale geschiedenis van het Turnhoutse kramersambacht (1734-1755)*, Unpublished master thesis University of Leuven 1983, pp. 70, 234-236; A. VAN DEN BROECK, "Marchands de tout, faiseurs de rien", *Het Lierse meestersambacht tijdens de tweede helft van de 18^{de} eeuw*, in "Lira Elegans", 3, 1993, pp. 51-79, 55-57; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen, cit.*, pp. 42, 94-95; L. VAN AERT, *Leven of overleven? Winkeliersambacht tijdens de tweede helft van de 18^{de} eeuw*, in "Lira Elegans", 3, 1993, 1648-ca. 1748, PhD-dissertation Antwerp University 2007, pp. 91-92, 153-154; J. DAMBRUYNE, *De corporatief georganiseerde detailhandel in het vroegmoderne Gent. Langtermijnevolutes in het meestersambacht (gesthende tot achttiende eeuw)*, in "Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent", 58, 2004, pp. 163-213, 171, 175-176; Some methodological considerations (on population figures especially) in: B. DEWILDE, *Corporaties en confréries in conflict: Leuven 1600-1750*, PhD-dissertation Leuven University 2012, pp. 123-124.

The point I want to make in this paper is largely a methodological one. By their very nature, population censuses tend to underestimate the complexity of pre-modern economic organization because the occupational descriptions applied do not cover all the activities or occupations of households.⁹ Although historians are familiar with this issue, not many have dealt with it systematically.¹⁰ When mapping the retail sector, several studies have noticed that a number of households supplemented their earnings with commercial activities,¹¹ but the very extent of this phenomenon remains unknown. It is my purpose to explore this issue in more detail, for the discrepancy between Blondé's results and the high retail ratio's in table 1 are explained by the far-reaching entanglement of manufacturing and distribution activities via a system of multiple guild membership. In the Lier census of 1747, for instance, Nicolas Van Blommen was recorded as a shopkeeper, whereas in 1755 he was referred to as a silversmith, an occupation he already exercised in 1727.¹² Being both silversmith and mercer or, rather, both producing craftsman and retailer, Van Blommen's range of activities might have been more varied or diverse than one would expect at first sight.

This problem becomes all the more apparent in the eighteenth century, given the widespread incidence of multiple guild membership in many cities and towns of the Southern Low Countries during that period. Evidence (from provincial towns especially) shows that a significant number of Southern Netherlandish artisans began to combine several guild memberships from the 1650's or late seventeenth century onwards. In various economic sectors 40 per cent or more of the guild masters registered in two or more guilds. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, combinations with the mercers' guild became particularly common.¹³ Generally, this practice of multiple guild membership is understood as a form of 'moonlighting' or multiple job holding, and is connected to fluctuations on the labour market.¹⁴ As such, retailing is considered as a subsidiary occupation pursued to gain an

⁹ H. SWANSON, *The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns*, in "Past and Present", 121, 1988, pp. 29-48; É. HÉLIN, *La pluriactivité, indice de diversification économique et de mobilité sociale*, in *Studia Historica Economica. Liber amicorum Herman Van der Wee*, E. AERTS, B. HENAU, P. JANSSENS, R. VAN UYTVEN eds., Leuven 1993, pp. 111-126; A. MONTENACH, *Espaces et pratiques du commerce alimentaire à Lyon au XVIIe siècle. L'économie du quotidien*, Grenoble 2009, pp. 158-159, 176.

¹⁰ An exception is the historiography on the 'Industrious Revolution': J. DE VRIES, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge 2008; M. OVERTON, J. WHITTLE, D. DEAN, A. HANN, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750*, London-New York 2004, pp. 65-86.

¹¹ B. BLONDÉ, *Economie met verschillende snelheden*, cit., pp. 76-79; L. VAN AERT, *Leven of overleven?*, pp. 147-152; B. BLONDÉ, I. VAN DAMME, *Retail Growth and Consumer Changes*, cit., p. 640; D. VAN DEN HEUVEL, S. OGILVIE, *Retail Development in the Consumer Revolution*, cit., p. 73.

¹² Cf. note 7.

¹³ B. DEWILDE, *Corporaties en confrerieën*, pp. 174-175.

¹⁴ J.R. FARR, *Artisans in Europe 1300-1914*, Cambridge 2000, p. 154; É. HÉLIN, *La pluriactivité, indice de diversification*, cit.; Th. PFIRSCH, *Artisans et pluriactivité: l'exemple de Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in "Histoire urbaine", 6, 2002, pp. 5-21. Multiple guild membership is also considered as a form of professional mobility: R.T. RAPP, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-century Venice*, Cambridge-London 1976, pp. 20-22; P. STABEL, *Markets in the Cities of the Late Medieval Low Countries: Retail, Commercial Exchange and Socio-Cultural Display*, in *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, sec. XIII-XVIII*, S. CAVACIOCCHI (ed.), Florence 2001, pp. 797-817, 805. Both views are combined in: S. VON HEUSINGER, *Die Zunft im Mittelalter. Zur Verflechtung von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in*

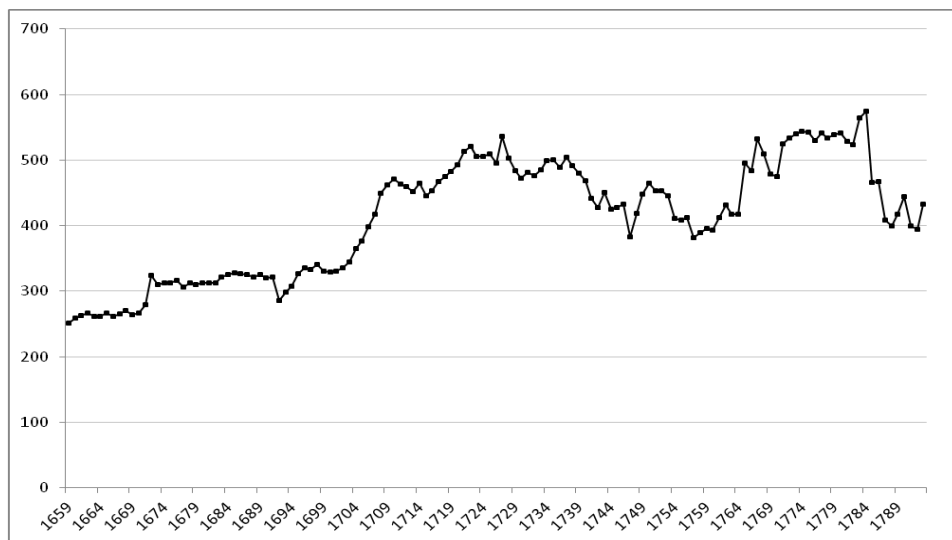
extra livelihood, whether or not through households that were trying to make ends meet.¹⁵ This article, however, alleges that joining a second guild does not have to be understood as taking up a second job.¹⁶ Multiple guild membership served to expand the commercial possibilities of the first craft. For that matter, it does not have to be defined in terms of multiple jobs but in terms of access to multiple trade privileges.

The data for this paper are derived from the provincial town of Leuven (*Louvain*) in the Southern Low Countries, a town famous for its university and beer industry. For the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leuven's population remained fairly stable at around 14-15,000 inhabitants. The city was located in a densely urbanized region, in the vicinity of Antwerp (40 km) and Brussels (30 km). Apart from the eighteenth-century brewing industry, Leuven developed no important export trades. The town traditionally functioned as the main grain market for the eastern and southern part of Brabant. During the period under study its market activity intensified due to the increased number of free market days (1658-1660) and the acquisition of staple rights for the hinterland of Tienen (1720's). The function of the local economy was essentially that of a provider for the town, the university, and its vast, rural hinterland. Food, drink and clothing were the dominant sectors, accounting for 75 per cent of the guild population c. 1700.

Straßburg, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 260-266. A. Kluge adds social, religious and political motives to economic incentives for joining multiple guilds: A. KLUGE, *Die Zünfte*, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 144-145.

¹⁵ B. BLONDÉ, H. GREEFS, *Werk aan de winkel. De Antwerpse meerseniers: aspecten van de kleinhandel en het verbruik in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, in "Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis", 84, 2001, pp. 207-229, 215; E. STEEGEN, *Kleinhandel en stedelijke ontwikkeling. Het kramersambacht te Maastricht in de vroegmoderne tijd*, Hilversum 2006, pp. 140-144, 334-336; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen*, cit., pp. 71, 96; L. VAN AERT, *Leven of overleven*, cit; B. BLONDÉ, I. VAN DAMME, *Retail Growth and Consumer Changes*, cit., pp. 640; D. VAN DEN HEUVEL, S. OGILVIE, *Retail Development in the Consumer Revolution*, cit., p. 73.

¹⁶ See already: A. KLUGE, *Die Zünfte*, cit., p. 144; E.J. SHEPARD JR., *Social and Geographical Mobility of the Eighteenth-century Artisan: An Analysis of Guild Receptions in Dijon, 1700-1790*, in *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization and Practice*, S.L. KAPLAN, C.J. KOEPP (eds.), Ithaca-London 1986, pp. 97-130, 114-116; J. DAMBRUYNE, *Guilds, Mobility and Status in Sixteenth-century Ghent*, in "International Review of Social History", 43, 1998, pp. 31-78, 52; H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen en een verschillende snit. Sociaal-economische, institutionele en culturele transformaties in de kledingsector in Antwerpen, Brussel en Gent, 1585-1800*, Amsterdam 2001, pp. 45, 75; J. DAMBRUYNE, *Corporatieve middengroepen. Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld*, Ghent 2002, pp. 253-258; A. MONTENACH, *Espaces et pratiques du commerce alimentaire*, cit., pp. 153, 157-162.

Graph. 1. Estimates of mercers in Leuven, 1659-1793¹⁷

As in many other European cities and towns, the consumption of durables and groceries was increasing in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Leuven. Utensils for coffee and tea – as markers of a new consumption culture – were recorded in 15.8 per cent of the Leuven households c. 1680. By 1730 this percentage had risen to 75.5 and by 1780 even up to 97.6 per cent. Periwigs are encountered from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards. Parallel to the diffusion of new products, membership numbers of the mercers' guild (also called mercers-grocers' guild) were rising sharply, starting in the 1670's and expanding even further to the first decades of the eighteenth century (graph. 1). Leuven mercers sold groceries, textiles, fashion articles, household goods, and populuxe goods. They claimed the right to distribute "*everything the industry of the people of this and other countries invented daily*", including novel food commodities such as sugar, chocolate, coffee, tea, and tobacco. Furthermore, mercers were licensed to import products, which were not available on the Leuven market and to sell "*all commodities that were brought into this town by French and other merchants*".¹⁸

MULTIPLE GUILD MEMBERSHIP IN LEUVEN

Contrary to many English and French towns, Leuven and the Southern Low Countries in general had a tradition of strong guilds. Most trades were organized through craft guilds. Until the end of the eighteenth century, guild membership was

¹⁷ LEUVEN CITY ARCHIVES, 11641-11643, 11649-11653 (1640-1795). Estimates based on a 20-years interval, as in: E. STEEGEN, *Kleinhandel en stedelijke ontwikkeling*, cit., pp. 133-135.

¹⁸ LCA, 11645, fol. 58v-63v (20 July 1677 and 5 Feb. 1710); LCA, 11646 (19 June 1773).

compulsory for any individual who engaged in guild-controlled trades. Guild privileges were strictly enforced; offenders were actively pursued and infringements sanctioned. The Leuven bakers even maintained a system of informers who reported breaches of the bakers' privilege in return for small sums of money. Only under extraordinary market circumstances, for instance in times of dearth or war, might guild privileges be temporarily suspended or were offences more easily tolerated. Leuven guilds also had substantial political power: they occupied almost half of the seats in the city council and one of both mayors was elected among their midst. Some guilds disposed of vast financial resources. They financed part of the urban debt and they invested large sums in urbanization projects. This political and financial leverage was used to exert direct influence and to ensure that their privileges were maintained, enlarged and enforced.¹⁹

Even though guild politics were primarily aimed at the preservation of corporate privileges, Leuven citizens were allowed to be a member of more than one guild.²⁰ Moreover, multiple guild membership was largely institutionalized via a system of 'oaths'. Burghers entering a craft guild for the first time were referred to as masters of the first oath. They took the guild's oath for the first time and were not yet member of another guild. Those who joined a second, third or higher guild later on, were received successively as masters of the second, third, ... oath. The conditions for entering a second, third or higher guild, were similar to those for entering a first guild. One had to pay all due charges, to complete an apprenticeship and pass the examination if required, and to swear obedience to the guild deans, the city and the sovereign. Masters of the second, third or higher oath enjoyed the same economic privileges as masters of the first oath. The major difference between first and higher oath masters was that only masters of the first oath were allowed to attend guild assemblies and to participate in the election of guild deans and representatives in the city council.²¹ However, when multiple guild membership became commonplace from the last decades of the seventeenth century on, masters of the higher oaths were also involved in decision making, financial matters, the examination of apprentices and the appointment of guild deans.²²

¹⁹ DEWILDE, *Corporaties en confrerieën*, cit.

²⁰ ANDERLECHT STATE ARCHIVES (ASA), *Council of Brabant (CoB)*, Lawsuits guilds, 6, doc. 24, art. 20 (1611).

²¹ J. VERHAVER, *Het ambachtswezen te Leuven*, Leuven 1940, pp. 78, 105.

²² LCA, 322, fol. 213r-4r (16 June 1660); LCA, 11702, fol. 3r (27 March 1700); LCA, 11718, fol. 88r-90v (11 January 1716); LCA, 11719, fol. 1v-4v (1758-1764); LCA, 382, fol. 136v-7v (5 August 1762); M. MEES, *Leuvense tinnegieters (1279-1892) en hun werken (17^{de}-19^{de} eeuw)*. *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het tinnegietersambacht te Leuven*, Unpublished master thesis University of Leuven 1984, p. 45.

Tab. 2. Multiple guild membership among Leuven craftsmen, 1600-1795 (%)²³

	Guild	Cheese mongers	Bakers	Butchers	Fish mongers	Gardeners	Millers	Brewers	Vinners	Tailors	Hosiers	Sec.-band dealers	Peniters	Book sellers	Merers
N	1,436	628	198	207	1,087	79	1,618	101	557	191	860	50	171	3,534	
1600-24	0.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	36.54	12.05	14.29	4.17	--	
1625-49	29.93	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	42.00	18.80	28.57	16.67	min 19.23	
1650-74	56.91	34.78	24.24	--	--	--	--	50.00	--	62.50	21.77	50.00	12.50	min 34.46	
1675-99	68.78	46.53	21.74	60.87	13.29	--	35.31	57.14	54.08	84.21	41.45	66.67	38.46	min 54.23	
1700-24	73.18	63.04	46.15	32.56	12.76	45.83	40.37	66.67	54.82	66.67	40.68	62.50	45.83	min 46.39	
1725-49	67.38	50.82	48.57	43.75	13.44	43.48	40.46	64.72	54.60	100.00	41.89	42.86	27.27	min 49.23	
1750-74	72.77	55.00	43.90	46.94	11.76	31.58	43.33	92.86	36.07	87.50	30.00	71.43	64.29	min 43.95	
1775-95	72.08	54.08	27.30	31.82	18.56	0.00	32.17	77.78	28.99	72.22	20.55	66.67	50.00	min 42.29	

²³ LCA, 4753/6, 4760/2, 4779/6, 4797/6, 11589-11590, 11598-11622, 11641-11643, 11649-11653, 11681, 11696-11698, 11700, 11703-11704, 11708, 11710-11714, 11720-11724, 11727-11730, 11742-11743, 11759, 11761-11762, 11765-11766, M. MEES, *Leuvense timmerlieden*, cit., pp. 90-129; P. DELSAERDT, *Suum quisque bibliobecam. Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16^{de}-18^{de} eeuw*, Leuven 2001, pp. 351-428.

The oath system is far from perfect in practice of registration.²⁴ Still it facilitates the task of cross-referencing guild ledgers and account books to compile a comprehensive prosopographical database. By now this database contains approximately 11,500 records. Table 2 summarizes some results. The graphes show an increase of multiple guild membership during the second half of the seventeenth century. However, since data for the early seventeenth century are only partially available, there might be more continuity between the first and the second half of the century than table 2 suggests. In some guilds percentages remained fairly stable in the course of the eighteenth century (bakers, grease mongers – 1725-1749 excepted, gardeners); in others they continued to grow until the middle or third quarter of that century and fell thereafter (tailors, hosiers – 1700-1724 excepted, pewterers and book sellers – both 1725-1749 excepted). Still other guilds combined a bit of both (second-hand dealers, butchers, brewers, vintners). The overall picture that emerges, reveals a relative high degree of multiple guild membership among Leuven guild masters. During most of the eighteenth century, and with exception of the gardeners, roughly 40 per cent of the guild members combined several trades. Grease mongers, vintners and hosiers attained even higher figures, up to 70, 80 or 90 per cent at some stages. But these high figures should not conceal the fact that percentages might also stay low for the entire period (gardeners) or drop considerably at a certain point (butchers, tailors, hosiers).

Combining guilds was expensive. Until 1650 entrance fees for masters were still moderate, ranging from 20 guilders in the tailors' guild till 30 guilders in the bakers' and grease mongers' guilds. By 1700, however, entrance barriers were raised to 100 guilders for grease mongers, tailors, second-hand dealers, and mercers, 125 guilders for pewterers, 200 guilders for fish mongers, and 250 guilders for bakers. Half a century later, fees were set at 200 guilders for grease mongers, gardeners, tailors, second-hand dealers, pewterers, and mercers, 250 guilders for millers, 300 guilders for vintners, and 350 guilders for bakers and fish mongers. The powerful guild of brewers charged 500 guilders in 1693, and no less than 1,000 guilders c. 1700. Owing to their structural weakness, admission into the hosiers' and painters' guilds never rose higher than 44 and 50 guilders respectively. The hereditary guild of butchers did not impose an entrance fee in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but only blood relatives ("*van den bloede*", i.e. sons of masters) were admitted to the craft.²⁵

²⁴ A repeated 'error' in the registration of guild members was that the entry "*of the second oath*" did not literally refer to a master of the second oath, but was generally applied to designate members of the *higher* oaths, i.e. members not belonging to the first oath. For instance, on 27 April 1655, Antoen Dauw was registered as mercer "*of the second oath*", being "*baker and brewer of his profession*". Given that Antoen belonged to two separate guilds before entering the mercers' guild, he clearly should have been registered as mercer of the third oath. In the same way, the "*second oath book*" of the brewers' guild comprises all members of the higher oaths (LCA, 11590 (1713-1795)). Very helpful for this research was that the guild ledgers and account books of the mercers', second-hand dealers' and hosiers' guild often wrote down in which guilds their new members had registered before.

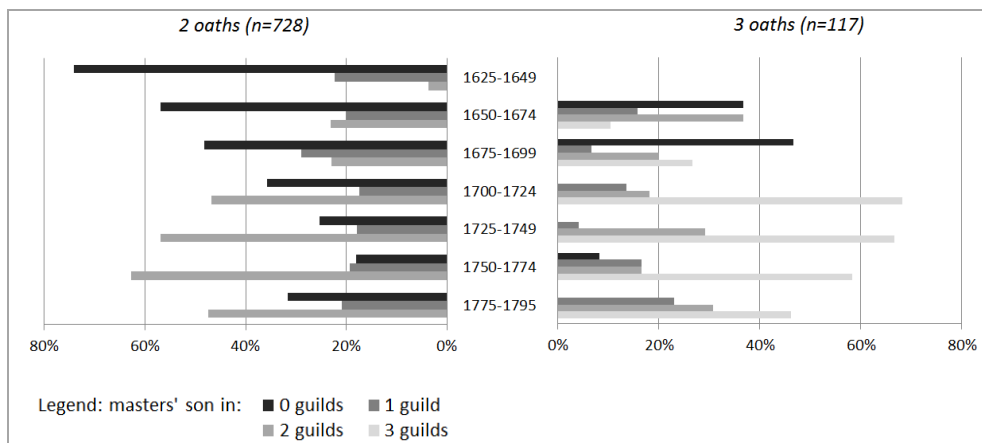
²⁵ LCA, 11681, fol. 3r, art. 1-2 (c. 1655); A. MEULEMANS, *Leuvense ambachten. De beenhouwers*, in "Eigen Schoon en de Brabander", 41, 1958, pp. 412-426 and 42, 1959, pp. 92-107, 212-230, 294-303, here pp. 418-425.

These rates, however, were not imposed on sons of current masters. Masters' sons were freed of all admission charges, including the cost of the examination meal. As a rule, they could suffice with a presentation of wine (or its equivalent in specie) and a small sum for the guild altar and poor box. Sons whose father belonged to multiple guilds enjoyed a privileged status in each guild their father was member of. In this way, Leuven citizens could rely on a double, triple, or even quadruple masters' son status to join multiple guilds at greatly reduced cost.²⁶ During the eighteenth century in particular, multiple guild membership went hand in hand with multiple masters' son status (graph. 2). Guild members thus benefited from the investments made by previous generations to join several guilds – benefits, which were cumulative in nature. As long as candidates for the mastership had antecedents in the guild, the systematic elevation of the entrance fee did not constitute an impediment to combine several memberships. Nor should other entry requirements – apprenticeship and master piece – have posed insurmountable problems. Either because some guilds did not establish formal training and proof requirements as a precondition for admittance (mercers, butchers, grease mongers, second-hand dealers), or because guilds allowed master's sons to enroll without having to serve an apprenticeship and to produce a trial piece (bakers, brewers, fish mongers, gardeners, hosiers, painters). During the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, a few guilds even offered the opportunity for non-master's sons to commute the apprenticeship and proof for a sum varying between 50 and 100 guilders (vintners, booksellers, hosiers).²⁷

²⁶ There were still other possibilities to reduce the admission costs, for instance via a membership of the Leuven crossbow guild of Our Lady of Sorrows. Since 1423, members of this archery association enjoyed the privilege of entering a craft guild of their own choice without payment of the registration fee. Between 1650 and 1795, at least 133 Leuveners benefited from this privilege to combine several guilds. B. DEWILDE, *In de ban van hertog Jan. Schuttersgilde en kleinhandelsrevolutie in Leuven, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, in "Noordbrabants Historisch Jaarboek", 29, 2012, pp. 99-119.

²⁷ J. VERHAERT, *Het ambachtswezen*, cit., pp. 81-82, 84-85; P. DELSAERDT, *Suum quisque bibliothecam*, cit., pp. 56-57; B. DEWILDE, *Corporaties en confrerieën*, cit., pp. 164-165.

Graph. 2. Multiple guild membership and multiple masters' son status in the victualling trade, 1625-1795²⁸



Bakers, grease mongers, gardeners, fish mongers, butchers, brewers and mercers joined each other's guilds, in varying combinations and frequencies (table 3). Brewers running a tavern mainly bought membership of the vintners' and mercers' guilds whereas wholesale brewers and brewers producing for the export entered the cooper's and millers' guilds. Clusters of guild membership existed as well among tailors, hosiers, second-hand dealers and mercers. Occasionally an artisan from the clothing trade might enter a victualling guild (and *vice versa*). Joannes Stockmans, for instance, acquired membership of both the second-hand dealers' and tailors' guilds in 1695, "*being already a vintner of the first oath*" (1690).²⁹ As a rule, however, such cases were rather exceptional. Particularly combinations with the mercers' guild were much sought-after. The same is true for the art and populuxe trades, where a substantial number of pewterers and book sellers joined the mercers' guild. Serial data on painters are not available, but several renowned Leuven artists such as Wolfgang I De Smet (c. 1630-1685), Wolfgang II De Smet (1682-1711), Lambert Blendeff (1650-1721), Pieter-Jozef Verhaghen (1728-1811), Laurent Geedts (1728-1813), Joseph-Pierre Geedts (1770-1834), Jean-François Berges (1717-1819), and François-Xavier-Joseph Jacquin (1756-1826), registered as mercers. Of a total of 3,534 new members listed in the mercers' guild between 1640 and 1795, at least 1,567 persons or 44.34 per cent were simultaneously member of one or more other guilds.³⁰ After a sharp rise in

²⁸ Cf. table 2. The sample for this research consists of records containing full data only. Since much information on the status of masters' or non-masters' son is lacking for the guilds of bakers, fish mongers, and millers, that explains the low N in the category '3 oaths', and the impossibility to enlarge this research to the categories '4 oaths' and '5 oaths'.

²⁹ ASA, *CoB*, Lawsuits confraternities, 83 doc 18 (1690).

³⁰ 'At least', because we do not possess full data on all guilds investigated, and because not all Leuven guilds are yet included in this research (e.g. shoemakers, cobblers, curriers, tanners, weavers, smiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, masons, silversmiths, surgeons, etc.).

Tab. 3. Frequency of guild combinations, 1600-1795 (%)³¹

	Bakers	Grease mongers	Butchers	Fish mongers	Candlemakers	Millers	Brewers	Vintners	Tailors	Hatters	Sec.-hand dealers	Penitents	Booksellers	Coopers	Menters	Other/ unknown	Total
Bakers (n=494)	--	30.36	1.01	0.61	3.24	0.81	20.45	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	38.47	4.45	100.00
Grease mongers (n= 1,259)	11.91	--	1.59	1.75	3.02	0.87	10.88	1.11	0.16	0.24	0.08	0.08	0.08	1.27	63.39	3.57	100.00
Butchers (n=112)	4.46	17.86	--	0.89	1.79	0.89	34.82	13.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.79	19.65	4.46	100.00
Fish mongers (n=124)	2.42	17.74	0.81	--	4.84	0.00	29.03	2.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.65	29.03	8.06	100.00
Gardeners (n=219)	7.31	17.35	0.91	2.74	--	0.00	16.89	0.46	1.36	0.00	3.20	0.00	0.00	3.20	33.79	12.79	100.00
Millers (n=53)	7.55	20.75	1.89	0.00	0.00	--	39.62	1.89	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.32	15.09	1.89	100.00
Brewers (n=933)	10.83	14.68	4.18	3.86	3.97	2.25	--	3.64	0.86	0.54	0.96	0.64	0.43	18.54	26.37	8.25	100.00
Vintners (n=104)	0.96	13.46	14.42	2.88	0.96	0.96	32.69	--	0.96	0.00	0.96	0.00	0.00	3.85	24.05	3.85	100.00
Tailors (n=351)	0.00	0.57	0.00	0.00	0.85	0.00	2.28	0.28	--	7.12	30.48	0.00	0.00	0.57	47.88	9.97	100.00
Hosters (n=150)	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.33	0.00	16.67	--	30.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.33	2.00	100.00
Sec.-hand dealers (n=293)	0.00	0.34	0.00	0.00	2.39	0.00	3.07	0.34	36.52	15.70	--	0.34	1.37	1.02	31.06	7.85	100.00
Pewterers (n=27)	0.00	3.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.70	--	0.00	3.70	62.98	3.70	100.00
Booksellers (n=59)	0.00	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.78	0.00	--	0.00	83.06	3.39	100.00

³¹ Cf. table 2.

the last quarter of the seventeenth century, figures remained fairly stable during the eighteenth century.

VICTUALLING TRADE

The increased occurrence of multiple guild membership had profound impact on shop practices. Probate inventories reveal how victuallers added sidelines of groceries, chandlery and even textiles and clothing accessories to their stock. In the shop of baker-mercier-grease monger Jacobus Van Dormael (1733), bread shelves alternated with butter and oil pots, baskets filled with exotic spices and bottles containing vinegar and syrups. Besides foodstuff, the showroom displayed an impressive amount of textiles, lacework, stockings, handkerchiefs, shirts, hats and haberdashery.³² The workplace of baker-mercier-grease monger Michiel Wouters (1729) hosted a well-equipped bakery, complete with oven, furnace, kettles, kneading trough, tin oven plates and a store of flour and wheat. In the shop, however, customers also found candles, oil, cheese, dripping, soap, sugar, tea, rice, figs, pepper, coriander, ginger and a mishmash of other spices, as well as cotton, flax, thread, ribbons, pins, combs, buttons and other trimmings.³³ Victuallers buying membership of the brewers' or vintners' guild got access to the market for liquids, as such concentrating a larger share of the food provisioning into one outlet. For instance, in the *Guide Fidèle*, an eighteenth-century travel guide, baker-brewer Jacobus Thielens advertized both under the heading 'bakers' (*boulangers*) and 'beer merchants' (*marchands de bière*).³⁴ Some guild masters – predominantly victuallers but also a few artisans in other trades³⁵ – tended a small tavern on the side, although this practice seems to have declined in the seventeenth century due to rising entrance fees in the brewers' guild and other bylaws restricting access to the beer trade.³⁶ Membership of the mercers' guild further enabled victuallers to add novelties to their stock, in particular coffee, tea, chocolate, sugar, and tobacco. Baker-mercier-grease monger Paul Maes' 1764 inventory, for example, contained 93 rye breads, groceries, and chandlery, but also snuff, coffee, and tea.³⁷ At the shop of mercer-grease monger Theodorus Anchiau (1747), customers came across poultry, game, and tobacco.³⁸ Innkeepers (incorporated into the brewers' guild) offered their clientele a wider selection of beverages by joining the vintners' and mercers'

³² LEUVEN STATE ARCHIVES (LSA), *Orphan Chamber* (OC), 40/51 (22 January 1738).

³³ LSA, OC, 40/61 (24 September 1729).

³⁴ *Le Guide Fidèle contenant la Description de la Ville de Louvain, tant Ancienne que Moderne (...)*, Brussels c. 1776, pp. 33, 38.

³⁵ E.g. 9 second-hand dealers, 8 tailors, 6 curriers, 6 pewterers, 5 hosiers, 3 booksellers, 3 tanners, 3 drapers, 2 cloth shearers, 1 weaver, 1 shoemaker, 1 turner, 1 silversmith, 1 surgeon.

³⁶ LCA, 11592, fol. 81, art. 5 (1610); LCA, 4649, fol. 267-268 (1613); LCA, 312, fol. 134v (5 January 1616), fol. 136r (9 January 1616); LCA, 4845 (1622-1626); LCA, 4848 (1651); LCA, 332, fol. 440 (1694); LCA, 4695/44, doc. 2 (1755); J. ROELANTS, *Aspecten van de Leuvense economie in de 17e eeuw. De voeding en de dranken*, Unpublished master thesis University of Leuven 1979, pp. 176-191. Compare with E.J. SHEPHARD JR., *Social and Geographical Mobility*, cit., pp. 114-116; A. MONTENACH, *Espaces et pratiques du commerce alimentaire*, cit., p. 161-162.

³⁷ LSA, *Notary Archives* (NA), 12222 (1 September 1764).

³⁸ ASA, *States of Brabant* (SoB), Cartons, 402/34 (1747).

guilds. Such was the case in Petrus Adams' tavern *De Gulden Cop* (1773), where visitors could choose between beer, wine, brandy, chocolate, tea, and coffee.³⁹ From 1706 onwards, it was forbidden to open a coffee shop for those who did not belong to the mercers' guild.⁴⁰

Leuven butchers retailed beef, pork, mutton, and goat. A dual membership in the grease mongers', bakers', or mercers' guild allowed them to expand their product line with more varieties. Grease mongers provided popular pork products such as smoked ham, sucking pig, bacon, sausages, black pudding, and lard. Also mercers sold bacon and ham, supplied by countryside pig breeders under the market price. Pastrycooks (incorporated into the bakers' guild) baked meat and fish pies; mercers offered poultry pies ("*vogel taert*"). Both grease mongers, pastrycooks, and innkeepers supplied game and poultry – or game and poultry preparations.⁴¹ For the same reason, fish mongers joined the grease mongers' and mercers' guilds to add stockfish, herring, and kipper to their food assortment.⁴² Moreover, the fish market was only held on Friday and Saturday, which allowed fish mongers to trade other commodities during the rest of the week.⁴³

In the 1780's mercer Engelbert Vander Perren considered buying membership of the grease mongers' guild, so as to add products to his stock "*which are in some way compatible with mercery*".⁴⁴ This statement indicates that master artisans entered a second or third guild to sell products related to their current assortment. However, the shop inventories of Wouters and Van Dormael, which listed textiles and clothing accessories next to food products, demonstrate that victuallers also included unrelated products. Both Wouter's and Van Dormael's shop suited the idea of a general store, where customers could satisfy various needs: a so-called 'one-stop' shop for daily provisions and allied household goods.⁴⁵ The same goes for the shops of mercers-grease mongers Joannes-Arnoldus Van Coeckelbergh (c. 1769) and Joannes Vander Moren (1772). One half of their showroom presented spices, groceries, chandlery, coffee and tea; the other half was reserved for textiles, clothing and trimmings.⁴⁶ Diversification was also an integral part of the butchers' trade, given that "*all Leuven butchers were fish dealers simultaneously*".⁴⁷ Since the fourteenth century,

³⁹ P. VANDENBROECK, *Leuvense wooncultuur in de 18e eeuw. De inventaris van de afspanning Den Gulden Cop* (1773), in "Arca Lovaniensis", 18, 1989, pp. 217-258.

⁴⁰ LCA, 11645, fol. 55r-v (13 April 1706); J. Verhavert, *Het ambachtswezen*, cit., p. 127.

⁴¹ LCA, 1615 (28 August 1624); LCA, 4704 (26 July 1653-16 February 1654); LCA, 11722, fol. 60r (4 December 1700), fol. 63r-64r (16 April 1718); LCA, 2747 (20 July 1677 and 1722); LCA, 11679, fol. 5v-6r (12 October 1740); A. MEULEMANS, *De beenhouwers*, cit., pp. 412-418; A. MEULEMANS, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Leuvense ambachten: De vettenvariërs*, in "Eigen Schoon en de Brabander", 48, 1965, pp. 8-24, 151-163, 194-210, here pp. 19-21; J. ROELANTS, *Aspecten van de Leuvense economie*, cit., pp. 111-113, 133-134.

⁴² LCA, 11695, art. 38 (1555); LCA, 2747 (20 July 1677 and 1722); J. ROELANTS, *Aspecten van de Leuvense economie*, cit., p. 124.

⁴³ ASA, CoB, *Lawsuits guilds*, 277, doc. 7: *Deductie* (...) (1705).

⁴⁴ A. MEULEMANS, *De vettenvariërs*, cit., p. 155.

⁴⁵ J. BLACKMAN, *The Development of the Retail Grocery Trade in the Nineteenth century*, in "Business history", 9, 1967, pp. 110-117, 110; S.L. KAPLAN, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question 1700-1775*, Durnham-London 1996, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁶ LSA, N/A, 12290 (22 May 1769); LSA, OC, 42/22 (19 June 1772).

⁴⁷ LCA, 11687/2, doc. 1: *Corte reflectien* (...), pt. 42 (1754).

butchers were entitled to participate in the retail and wholesale markets for fish, without the obligation to complete an apprenticeship in the fish mongers' guild or to fulfill any other entry requirement.⁴⁸ This privilege did not work reversely, however: fish mongers did not have access to the butchers' trade, nor could they (or any other artisan) become member of the butchers' guild, for mastership was hereditary in that guild.

On the other hand, wholesale brewers and brewers catering for export purchased the freedom of the millers' or coopers' guild not to trade flour or coopers' items, but to lower their production and distribution costs. The inventory of *Keyser Carel* (1730), owned by brewer-cooper-miller Jacobus De Bruyn, pictures a brewery with 8 kettles, 25 wort filter baskets, a malt house, a beer cellar, and several storages filled with brewing grains, malt and hops. A separate workplace was destined for the manufacture of barrels, and contained a quantity of wood, two workbenches and coopers' implements.⁴⁹ Other sources from the 1720's identify De Bruyn as owner of a windmill in the southern part of the town.⁵⁰ De Bruyn managed the brewing company, whereas the handling of barrels and the processing of grain was done by journeymen or other employees.⁵¹ Thus, in this particular case, multiple guild membership did not serve to expand or diversify the company's trading activities but to cope with the sole right of guild masters to buy the service of skilled workers ('labour-market monopsony').⁵²

Multiple guild membership in the victualling trade was firmly connected to fixed shop retailing and growing commercialization. The low figure of multiple guild membership among market gardeners attests to this. Leuven gardeners did not operate from shops. Most gardeners resided in the green open areas in the western quarter of the city, close to their vegetable gardens and fruit trees but outside the core retail area of the city centre. Like other agricultural commodities, fruit, vegetables and related gardeners' wares were primarily sold in the marketplace on an everyday basis. Only a small number of gardeners kept shop in the city centre, but precisely those were gardeners who combined their profession with other victualling trades (or *vice versa*). This type of gardeners usually did not grow their own fruit and vegetables, but ordered them from producing gardeners or from farmers on the countryside, and sold them as part of a larger stock of provisions.⁵³

⁴⁸ LCA, 11681, fol. 3r, art. 3 (c. 1655).

⁴⁹ LSA, N/4, 13155 (1 February 1730).

⁵⁰ A. MEULEMANS, *Leuvense ambachten. De maalders*, in "Eigen Schoon en de Brabander", 47, 1964, pp. 271-300, 273.

⁵¹ LCA, 4720/12 (12 July-15 September 1729); ASA, SoB, Cartons, 402/45 (1747); Ch. BAS, *Prosopografische bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van het Leuvense groot ambacht (1735-1795)*, Unpublished master thesis University of Leuven 1981, p. 166. A. MEULEMANS, *De maalders*, cit., p. 272. Compare with: R.W. UNGER, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Philadelphia 2004, pp. 221-223.

⁵² S.R. EPSTEIN, *Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Pre-industrial Europe*, in "Journal of Economic History", 58, 1998, pp. 684-713; G. RICHARDSON, *A Tale of Two Theories: Monopolies and Guilds in Medieval England and Modern Imagination*, in "Journal of the History of Economic Thoughts", 23, 2007, pp. 217-242.

⁵³ LCA, 11760 (1740, 1769); LCA, 4797/12 (17 February 1752); LCA, 4797/20 (1760); A. MEULEMANS, *Leuvense ambachten. De boveniers, fruiteniers en mandenmakers*, in "Eigen Schoon en de Brabander", 37, 1954, pp. 336-347, 401-410 and 38, 1955, pp. 26-35, 133-153, 225-234, here pp. 340-344.

A similar division between production and distribution existed in the bread and flour trades. Eighteenth-century legislation forbade flour to be sold from mills. Therefore, several persons enrolled in the millers' guild with the intention to run a flour shop. These 'dry millers' (as they were called) did not own or lease a mill, but were simply retailing the products of millers who did operate a mill. By 1750 "*Flour-Sellers' shops*" outnumbered mills 16 to 9.⁵⁴ Some dry millers joined the bakers' or mercers' guild, because these guilds were privileged to trade wheat flour, buckwheat flour (bakers), and pearl barley (mercers).⁵⁵ In the bread trade, production statistics show that bakers who combined their craft with other trades tended to produce significantly less bread than bakers who were exclusive members of the bakers' guild. Relative to other foodstuffs and commodities, bread occupied only a secondary position in their shops. Eighteenth-century ordinances reveal that these shopkeepers sold bread loaves delivered by colleagues with a large production.⁵⁶ Such specialisation offered advantages for both retailers and producers. While retailers could concentrate efforts on marketing, customer service, and creating a pleasant shopping environment, producers could concentrate on producing, save space and time on marketing, and make use of specialized outlets for distribution.

Like gardeners, butchers also did not operate from shops. For centuries, butchers had to sell their meat from stalls in the Meat Hall, an indoor marketplace in the city centre. Still in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the butchers' guild forced its members to comply with this regulation, and it imposed severe fines on free-riders who sold meat at home or along the street. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, more and more butchers withdrew from the Meat Hall, and individual butcher's shops gained increasing acceptance.⁵⁷ For reasons of quality control and taxation, the Leuven aldermen could not accept this development and they attempted to force the butchers back to the Meat Hall. But that proved to be a tough nut to crack. Backed-up by the guild with its vast financial resources, political influence, and numerous contacts at the university, the butchers succeeded in resisting the city council until 1756.⁵⁸ They defended shop sales on the same grounds of food safety and quality assurance. At the same time, given that "*a grand part of the butchers' guild was trading other commodities in addition to their principal occupation*", fixed shop meat trade was easier to combine with the "*other goods they were selling*".⁵⁹ Indeed, the movement towards shop sales at the beginning of the eighteenth century coincided with a large expansion of multiple guild membership among butchers. However, when the butchers lost their case in 1756 and finally had to return to their stalls in the Meat Hall, they also lost the opportunities for commercialization.⁶⁰ In the years following the judicial decision of 1756, the butch-

⁵⁴ LCA, 11708, fol. 19-20 (19 November 1750).

⁵⁵ LCA, 4760/5, fol. 7v, art. 40 (19 May 1725); A. MEULEMANS, *De maalders*, cit., pp. 272, 277.

⁵⁶ B. DEWILDE, J. POUKENS, *Bread Provisioning and Retail Dynamics in the Southern Low Countries: the bakers of Leuven, 1600-1800*, in "Continuity and Change", 26, 2011, pp. 405-438, 426-428.

⁵⁷ A. MEULEMANS, *De beenhouwers*, cit., pp. 94-95, 102, 224.

⁵⁸ LCA, 357, fol. 324 (12 August 1737); LCA, 11687/1-2 (1740-1754); LCA, 11688 (1740-1754); LCA, 373, fol. 334 (18 December 1753); A. MEULEMANS, *De beenhouwers*, cit., pp. 94-103.

⁵⁹ LCA, 11687/2, doc. 1: *Corte reflectien* (...), pt. 38, 42 (1754); LCA, 11688, doc. 1: *Corte reflectien* (...), pt. 133-134 (1755).

⁶⁰ LCA, 11687/2, doc. 1: *Corte reflectien* (...), pt. 39-40, 45 (1754).

ers continued to fight a rearguard action, but from the 1760's on the number of butchers combining several guild memberships dropped irrevocably.

CLOTHING TRADE

In Leuven, as in other Netherlandish cities and towns, several guilds were involved in the production and distribution of clothing ensembles. Tailors were generally responsible for the manufacture of garments for the upper part of the body, whereas hosiers provided stockings but also trousers and other items for the lower body. Second-hand dealers controlled the market for second-hand textiles and clothing. They bought and resold clothing, repaired clothes and fabricated garments from 'old' textiles. Mercers did not produce clothing in the first place but delivered the fabrics, trimmings, and all kinds of clothing accessories.⁶¹ Hence, "*to their utmost inconvenience*", customers had to "*employ various masters for the composition of a single ensemble*".⁶² Multiple guild membership made possible the vertical integration of the entire production process into one workshop, from the selection of the fabric and the making of the right cut, to the embellishment with laces and ribbons. In an undated (eighteenth-century) letter to the Leuven city council, several mercers of the second and third oath referred to this practice when they stated that their craft consisted "*in the making and selling of all sorts of garments from all sorts of fabrics [...], for the completion of which we need all sorts of trimmings*".⁶³

More important, however, was that multiple guild membership increased the level of commercialization in the Leuven clothing sector. Though tailoring was still primarily a bespoke trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth century,⁶⁴ there was a marked tendency in Leuven towards the sale of imported ready-made clothes. As early as the first decades of the seventeenth century, second-hand dealers switched from outsourcing production of 'new' clothes to the import of ready-made clothes from Antwerp, because economies of scale and lower labour costs in that city increased the price competitiveness on the Leuven market.⁶⁵ A number of second-hand dealers performing such entrepreneurial activities, purchased the tailors' guild membership during that period to justify their involvement in the market for new and ready-made clothes.

When taste for fashion and French garments began to determine demand in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, mercers took the lead in the Leuven cloth-

⁶¹ H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit.; H. DECEULAER, *Second-hand Dealers in the Early Modern Low Countries: Institutions, Markets and Practices, in Alternative Exchanges: Second-hand Circulation from the Sixteenth century to the Present*, ed. L. Fontaine, Oxford-New York 2008, pp. 13-42; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen*, cit.

⁶² LCA, 4660, fol. 53r-v (23 June 1628).

⁶³ LCA, 4697/16 (s.d. [eighteenth century]).

⁶⁴ H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit., p. 59; J.P. DAVIES, *Artisans and the city: A social history of Bristol's shoemakers and tailors, 1770-1800*, Unpublished PhD-dissertation University of Bristol 2003, p. 29.

⁶⁵ LCA, 4654, fol. 650r-651v (16 January 1605), fol. 659v-663v (1614-1621); LCA, 4768/11 (17 January 1608); LCA, 4773/1-3 (16 November 1632); LCA, 317, fol. 384v-385v (19 November 1632); LCA, 4735/6 (19 November 1632); ASA, *CoB*, Lawsuits guilds, 6 (1610-1611); H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit., pp. 134-138.

ing trade, selling a wide variety of novel fabrics, clothing *à la mode*, and trendy accessories imported from Antwerp, Brussels or directly from France.⁶⁶ In this context, membership of the mercers' guild enabled clothiers to complement their bespoke services with sidelines of ready-made produce and articles *à la mode*.⁶⁷ Hence, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, combinations between tailors and mercers gained relative weight at the expense of a dual membership in the tailors' and second-hand dealers' guilds (table 4). In the *Guide Fidèle*, several tailors-mercers advertized as both 'tailors for men' ("*tailleurs pour hommes*") and 'drapery and cloth merchants' ("*marchands des draps et d'étoffes*"), indicating they engaged in manufacturing as well as commercial activities. The shop inventories of tailors-mercers Gerard Tallon (1741) and Jacobus De Buck (1779), listed all kinds of implements and materials used to construct or adjust garments, besides finished garments, gloves, hats, periwigs, trimmings and novel fabrics such as cotton and chamois.⁶⁸ Second-hand dealer-hosier-mercier Silvester Vander Thorre (1684) sold the widest selection of garments for the lower body, both new and second-hand, for both sexes and all ages, besides trimmings, accessories and various qualities of textile.⁶⁹ Via a strategy of multiple guild membership, tailors thus shared in the profits generated by the introduction of new fashion – profits that otherwise went entirely to the mercers. As a result, income in Leuven was not redistributed from producing craftsmen to mercers to the same extent as it was in Antwerp or Ghent, where multiple guild membership was much less spread.⁷⁰

Tab. 4. Frequency of combinations in the Leuven tailoring trade, 1650-1795⁷¹

	<i>Tailor + Sec.- band dealer</i>	<i>Tailor + Mercer</i>	<i>Tailor + Sec.- band dealer + Mercer</i>	<i>Total</i>
N	87	144	20	251
1650-74	66.67	0.00	33.33	100.00
1675-99	53.19	31.92	14.89	100.00
1700-24	38.55	51.81	9.64	100.00
1725-49	24.32	74.33	1.35	100.00
1750-74	22.22	72.22	5.56	100.00
1775-95	10.00	90.00	0.00	100.00

⁶⁶ LCA, 11645, fol. 58v-63v (20 July 1677 and 5 February 1710); LCA, 4669/16 (1681); LCA, 328, fol. 92r-v (15 September 1683); H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit., pp. 163-180, 185-187; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen*, cit., pp. 196-200, 220-222.

⁶⁷ I. MITCHELL, *Development of urban retailing*, cit., pp. 259-283, 275; H.-Ch. Mui, L. Mui, *Shops and shopkeeping*, cit., p. 36; DAVIES, *Artisans and the city*, cit., p. 35.

⁶⁸ LSA, N4, 13166 (3 June 1741); LSA, N4, 13489 (31 December 1779).

⁶⁹ LSA, N4, 13662 (6 September 1684).

⁷⁰ B. BLONDÉ, I. VAN DAMME, *Beyond the 'Retail Revolution'. Trends and Patterns in 17th- and 18th-century Antwerp Retailing*, in this volume. Figures of multiple guild membership in the Antwerp and Ghent clothing trade: H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit., pp. 60, 75, 196-198; I. VAN DAMME, *Verleiden en verkopen*, cit., pp. 71, 289 note 48.

⁷¹ Cf. table 2.

Interest for an additional membership in the mercers' guild ran parallel with the expansion of that guild's privilege. Starting in the late seventeenth century, Leuven mercers succeeded in incorporating several profitable branches of the fashion trade into their profession. Included were the trade in gloves (1710), leatherware (1715), gold and silver decorations (1739, 1779), stockings (1741), periwigs (1700, 1755), and hats (1687, 1750).⁷² However, in this branch of fashion accessories, several single-commodity shops continued to flourish alongside general fashion stores. Stock inventories are found, for instance, of specialist periwig and hatter's shops, which offered finished products next to care and maintenance facilities.⁷³ Most periwig and hatter's shops were run by single-guild artisans (i.e. mercers), but several other specialist shops – for menswear or women's wear in particular – were run by artisans having a dual membership in the tailors' and mercers' guilds.⁷⁴

The expansion of the mercers' privilege had the side effect, however, that the need to combine guild memberships to unite various branches of the clothing trade decreased in the long run. In the second half of the eighteenth century, multiple guild membership among tailors, hosiers and second-hand dealers declined in favour of 'pure' mercer's shops. Thus, on a total of ten 'fashion merchants' (*"marchands des modes"*) advertizing in the *Guide Fidèle* c. 1776, only one is known to have combined a mercers' membership with another profession.⁷⁵ In the stocking trade, retailing activities prevailed since long over production. In 1722, at a time when all but one Leuven hosier had a dual membership in the mercers' guild, they were known to their Antwerp counterparts as tradesmen rather than producers.⁷⁶ After the mercers' guild purchased the right to import and trade stockings in 1741, the hosiers' guild had just about lost its very reason for existence. Its functions and administration were taken over by members of the second oath (mostly tailors), whereas the stocking trade was controlled by mercers.⁷⁷ A Leuven trade directory from 1769 no longer used the term 'hosier' but referred instead to 'stocking salesmen' (*"kooplieden in kousen"*).⁷⁸

⁷² LCA, 4710 (12 and 21 February 1687); LCA, 333, fol. 268-269 (18 April 1696); LCA, 4658, fol. 70v-71v (18 April 1696); LCA, 11645, fol. 57r-58v (4 February 1710); LCA, 4694/46 (15 November 1715); LCA, 11718, fol. 102r-103r (26 April 1741); LCA, 4697/14 (November 1750); LCA, 4695/44 (1755); LCA, 4772/3, fol. 1v-2r (1773); LCA, 11646, fol. 24-25, 40-42, 59-62 (19 June 1773); LCA, 4698/5 (1784); ASA, CoB, Lawsuits guilds, 496 (1716-1741).

⁷³ LSA, OC, 40/25 (3 July 1732); LSA, NA, 13628 (1 April 1740); LSA, NA, 14618 (31 January 1771).

⁷⁴ Based on shop advertisements in the *Guide Fidèle*, cit., pp. 34-35, 37.

⁷⁵ *Guide Fidèle*, cit., p. 39.

⁷⁶ ANTWERP CITY ARCHIVES, *Privilegekamer*, 811: Rekwestboek 1722-1723, fol. 112r (3 December 1722); H. DECEULAER, *Pluriforme patronen*, cit., p. 148.

⁷⁷ LCA, 11718, fol. 88r-90v (11 January 1716), fol. 102r-103r (26 April 1741); LCA, 4772/3, fol. 1r-2r (1773).

⁷⁸ J.-F. MASWIENS, *Grooten Lovenschen comptoir almanach voor het jaer ons Heere Jesu Christi M. DCC. LXIX. oft den getrouwen leyds-man*, Leuven 1769, p. 85.

ART AND POPULUXE TRADE

A similar process of commercialization took place in the art and populuxe trades. During much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Leuven was heavily dependent on Antwerp for the supply of paintings.⁷⁹ Still in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, a renowned painter such as Pieter-Jozef Verhaghen complained about the dislike of local artworks by his fellow citizens, university professors in particular.⁸⁰ In the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon that 'foreign' (i.e. Antwerp) artists or art dealers purchased the membership of the Leuven guild of St Luke without the intention to settle in town. In this way, they created a supplementary outlet market for paintings in Leuven without any further need or cost to operate shops on a permanent basis.⁸¹ Other painters and art dealers sold their overstock on the Leuven market (as they did elsewhere⁸²) during the annual fair in September or via post-fair auctions in the city hall.⁸³ Such practices were largely tolerated by the aldermen because the number of Leuven painters was too little to meet the growing demand.⁸⁴ It took until 1692 for the city council to exclude anyone not keeping fixed shop in Leuven from trading art outside the annual fair. In return for this protectionist measure, Leuven painters guaranteed to supply sufficient numbers of paintings, in one way or another.⁸⁵ Given the small number of painters and painter's journeymen listed in eighteenth-century population censuses, it is very unlikely that the painters' output increased substantially.⁸⁶ By joining the mercers' guild, however, Leuven painters were at least entitled to import paintings and to offer these in addition to their own produce. Thus, in the stock catalogue of painter-mercier Verhaghen (1811/1835), 35 out of 292 lots consisted of paintings by his own hand, whereas the main part of his stock consisted of paintings attributed to Antwerp (101), Brussels' (28) or Dutch (45) artists.⁸⁷ Several other

⁷⁹ E.g. LSA, OC, 40/42 (16 October 1734); L. VAN BUYTEN, *Naar een hiërarchie voor de stedelijke kunstnijverheden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden 16^{de}-18^{de} eeuw. Methodologie en eerste resultaten*, in *Als ich can: liber amicorum in memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, B. CARDON, J. VAN DER STOCK eds., Leuven 2002, pp. 1415-1427.

⁸⁰ E. VAN EVEN, *De schilder P.-J. Verhaghen, zijn leven en zijne werken*, Leuven 1875, pp. 122-123.

⁸¹ LCA, 4657, fol. 117r-120r (1617).

⁸² N. DE MARCHI, H. VAN MIEGROET, *Antwerp Dealers' Invasions of the Seventeenth-century Lille Market*, in *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime*, D. LYNA, F. VERMEYLEN, H. Vlieghe eds., Turnhout 2009, pp. 43-58.

⁸³ LCA, 327, fol. 18r (13 September 1681), fol. 277v (12 September 1682); LCA, 330, fol. 244v-245r (6 September 1689); LCA, 332, fol. 51-52 (15 September 1692), fol. 289 (22 September 1693), fol. 476 (13 September 1694); LCA, 4658, fol. 7v-11v (15 October 1692); L. VAN BUYTEN, *Leuvense handelshallen en de verkoop van kunstvoorwerpen*, in "Museumstrip", 28, 2001, pp. 4-6.

⁸⁴ On demand for paintings in Leuven: B. DEWILDE, J. POUKENS, *Confraternities, Jansenism and the Birth of a Consumer Society in 17th-18th-century Leuven*, in *Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy (1000-1800)*, ed. F. AMMANNATI, Florence 2012, pp. 671-693, 687-689.

⁸⁵ LCA, 4658, fol. 7v-11v (15 October 1692).

⁸⁶ Census 1702: 1 master painter, no journeymen; census 1747: 1 master painter employing 1 shop-girl; census 1755: 4 master painters, no journeymen or other employees; census 1795-1796: 8 master painters, 1 journeyman.

⁸⁷ GETTY PROVENANCE INDEX (GPI), *Sale catalogue* B-521a (2 May 1835).

painters-mercers (e.g. the mentioned Jacquin and Geedts) are recorded as frequent buyers of 'foreign' art in Leuven auctions.⁸⁸

Printers and booksellers supplying students, professors and university colleges had to register as *suppositi* of the university and (from 1690 on) to enroll in the guild of university booksellers.⁸⁹ Those university booksellers sold literature for a non-learned audience as well, but in this non-academic market they faced competition from mercers who imported and traded all kinds of 'reading books'.⁹⁰ Competition came also from within, for in 1759 the university established an academic printer's and publisher's, which pruned away profits from the closed academic market.⁹¹ Both university booksellers and mercers joined each other's guild to expand their range of tradable books. For instance, in 1777, printer-mercier Joannes-Franciscus Van Overbeke offered academic as well as non-academic literature for sale, consisting of his own production besides books imported from other cities and countries.⁹²

For pewterers too, a dual membership in the mercers' guild offered the opportunity to complete their stock with imported tin ware. Besides, changing standards in home furnishing prompted pewterers to reconsider their usual assortment and to include new goods in their shop. From the late seventeenth century onwards, consumers increasingly substituted tin ware for cheaper but less durable alternatives. Tin ware did not disappear from Leuven interiors but earthenware, majolica, glass and chinaware prevailed in the eighteenth century.⁹³ In 1694, the Leuven pewterers acquired the right to trade earthenware, glass and chinaware on the condition that they paid a once-only levy of 50 guilders to the potters' guild. Two-thirds of the pewterers enrolling after 1694 contributed to this potters' tax. As such, the stock of pewterer Michael Genits (1712) contained green and red earthenware imported from Limburg and Holland, and faience and pipe stoneware from Gouda. Pewterer Joannes Van Blehem jr. (1732) supplied stoneware and chinaware.⁹⁴ After 1750, also mercers, victuallers and painter-mercier Laurent Geedts purchased the license to sell chinaware.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ GPI, *Salé catalogue* B-44 (9-10 September 1802), B-120 (10 September 1806), B-179 (4 September 1810), B-259 (2-3 September 1816), B-260 (4-5 September 1816), B-285 (18 November 1817), B-343 (5 September 1820), B-401 (18 June 1821), B-427 (9 September 1824), B-432a (10 June 1825), B-443 (24 June 1826), B-451 (23 December 1826).

⁸⁹ P. DELSAERDT, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, cit., pp. 52-61, 88.

⁹⁰ LCA, 11645, fol. 58v-63v (20 July 1677 and 5 February 1710); LCA 4695/8 (December 1751-May 1752); LCA, 372, fol. 12r-15v (8 and 23 January 1752); LCA, 4697/13 (24 March 1752).

⁹¹ J. ROEGIER, *De academische drukkerij van de oude universiteit Leuven (1759-1797)*, in "Documentatieblad Werkgroep achttiende eeuw", 53-54, 1982, pp. 143-161.

⁹² LEUVEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, 7A3426: *Catalogus librorum Joannis Francisci Van Overbeke, Lovanii*, Leuven c. 1777; P. DELSAERDT, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, cit., pp. 209-212.

⁹³ B. DEWILDE, J. POUKENS, *Confraternities, Jansenism*, cit., pp. 686-687.

⁹⁴ M. MEES, *Leuvense tinnegieters*, cit., pp. 63-64.

⁹⁵ The list of contributors to the potters' levy is published in: L. VAN BUYTEN, *Het Leuvense faiencebedrijf Verplancke-Van Cutsem 1768-1771*, in "Historica Lovaniensia", 29, 1974, pp. 43-59, 58.

CONCLUSION

Research into Southern Netherlandish retail growth and practices hitherto mainly focused on mercers and mercers' guilds. 'Traditional' circuits of producing guilds and craftsmen are not yet integrated in this strand of research. With a case-study of the Leuven victualling, clothing, and art and populuxe trades I attempted to demonstrate that the group of producing guild masters equally experienced a 'retail revolution' in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. Members of the Leuven producing guilds increasingly focused on retailing instead of manufacturing and they shifted distribution activities from the market to the shop. Via a system of multiple guild membership they extended their production and distribution activities or they integrated goods and services in their shop, which were produced by other craftsmen or imported from other cities and countries. Particularly significant in this respect is the inclusion of exotics, French fashion and other novel commodities to align the supply with changing consumer demand. Diversification gave way to general provision and fashion stores, or to hybrid shops where customers could find a variety of necessities and commodities concentrated in one outlet. Some guild masters continued their specialist line of production but they generated higher profit margins by including sidelines of related items. However, in a number of cases (butchers, pewterers), diversification and commercialization was achieved without joining multiple guilds, whereas in the clothing trade the expansion of the mercers' privilege reduced the need to combine masterships.

This research pointed out that the expansion of the Leuven retail sector was not an isolated phenomenon, but was part of a larger trend towards commercialization. Up to 44.34 per cent of the new mercers in the period 1640-1795 was simultaneously member of one or more other guilds. Such combinations were primarily aimed at expanding the retailing opportunities. The striking tendency among craftsmen from producing guilds to combine their profession with a membership of the mercers' guild indicate that they were well aware of the growing importance of retailing in the Leuven economy. As such, producing craftsmen proved to be a key component of the Leuven retail revolution.